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CYRUS "KING OF LANDS," CAMBYSES "KING OF BABYLON": THE DISPUTED CO-REGENCY

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It is fifty years since the publication of Waldo Dubberstein's article, *The Chronology of Cyrus and Cambyses*,¹ in which he attempted to clarify certain details relating to the accessions of Cyrus and his son Cambyses. Dubberstein concluded at that time, from the evidence available to him, that there had been a co-regency at the end of Cyrus' reign (530/29 B.C.), Cyrus ruling as "King of Lands," Cambyses as "King of Babylon."

Dubberstein's article carried sufficient weight at that time for this co-regency of 530/29 B.C. to be included in Olmstead's *History of the Persian Empire*, and in 1956 Parker and Dubberstein, in their *Babylonian Chronology*,² still followed this line. However, as early as 1941 San Nicolò had shown on prosopographical grounds that the cuneiform evidence supported a period of "Unterkönigtum" for Cambyses at the beginning of Cyrus' reign (539/38 B.C.), rather than at the end.³ Dandamayev subsequently proposed a third explanation of these same cuneiform sources, that of two periods of co-regency, one at the beginning and one at the end of Cyrus' reign.⁴ More recently still, Shea has proposed that a single co-regency fell during Cyrus' second full year (538/37 B.C.), allowing one Gubāru/Ugbaru to reign as king of Babylon for a year, this man being identified as the biblical Darius the Mede.⁵

1. *AJSL* 55 (1938) 417-19. This article was prepared while I was carrying out research at Munich University with a grant from the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung. I am indebted to Professor M. Dandamayev for his comments on a preliminary draft of this article, in particular for drawing my attention to the relevance of VAS 5 42 and OECT 10 123, and to the article by Shea on Darius the Mede. My thanks are also due to Dr. Helen Whitehouse of the Ashmolean Museum for arranging for a collation of OECT 10 123, and to Dr. Stephanie Dalley for the collation itself.

2. *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C. - A.D. 75* (1956).

3. M. San Nicolò, *Beiträge zu einer Prosopographie neubabylonischer Beamten der Zivil- und Tempelverwaltung* (1941).

4. *Persien unter den ersten Achämeniden* (1976) pp. 100-102. The first Russian edition of this work appeared in 1963. Dandamayev has pointed out that in a more recent work, *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire* (in Russian; Moscow, 1985; pp. 45-47), he omits any reference to the second period of co-regency at the end of Cyrus' reign. Since the idea of the two periods of co-regency has been adopted in at least one general history of the period (see R. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* [1983] pp. 95-97), we are likely to see it referred to again, regardless of the conclusions reached in this article.

5. W. H. Shea, "Darius the Mede: An Update," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 20 (1982) 229-47.

The recent publication of more texts dated by both kings has prompted brief comments from various writers,⁶ and it is perhaps time to bring all the relevant texts together, and to review the current evidence. This article will therefore reexamine those texts which were available to Dubberstein and San Nicolò, examine the recently published material and, finally, take note of some unpublished texts in the British Museum which have been drawn to our attention by Leichty's Sippar Catalogue.⁷

The discussion concerning a possible period (or periods) of co-regency arises in the cuneiform sources through the unusual dating formulae to be found in some texts from the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses. Nabû-na'id and preceding kings had taken the title "King of Babylon"⁸; Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius were to be known in the cuneiform texts as "King of Babylon, King of Lands," *šar bābili šar mātāti*. Variations on this occur, sometimes with one element (*šar bābili*) or the other (*šar mātāti*) being omitted.⁹ In addition, ten texts were known which were dated by both kings, Cyrus as "King of Lands," and Cambyses as "King of Babylon." It was to these texts in particular that Dubberstein and San Nicolò had turned their attention.¹⁰ The relevant lines are quoted here:

Camb. 36:9-11 ITI *ajjāru* UD.9.KÁM MU.1.KÁM / *kám-bu-zi-ia*
 šār bābili(E)^{ki} / *mār*(A) ^m*ku-ra-dš šār mātāti*
 (KUR.KUR)

Cyr. 16:4-8 KAR (sic!) ITI *simānu* UD.10.KÁM / MU.1.KÁM
 ^m*ku-raš* / *šār mātāti*(KUR.KUR) / ^m*ka-am-bu-zi-ia* /
 šār bābili(TIN.TIR)^{ki}

6. Thus Stol, ZA 73 (1983), reviewing CT 55, 56, and 57, identified CT 56 149 as a co-regency text; McEwan, OECT 10 p. 2, referred to the article by G. Frame now published as JAOS 104 (1984), of which pp. 747-48 are relevant. Frame lists all the CT references; his doubts as to the dating of CT 57 369 (because of the spelling of Cambyses' name with *-si*-instead of *-zi-*) are now laid to rest by OECT 10 127, which shows the same peculiarity. Frame's suggestion that collation of CT 56 142 r. 1 would yield LÚ.SA[NGA] '*sip-par*', rather than '*šamaš*', is correct. The subject was also raised by M. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire* (1985) p. 5, f.7.

7. Erle Leichty, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, 6-7: Tablets from Sippar, 1-2* (1986-87). My thanks are due to Mr. C. B. F. Walker and to Professor Leichty for allowing access to the proofs of the third catalogue volume.

8. In YOS 17 162, which is dated to Nabû-kudurri-ušur 30.i.18, the king is called *šar mātāti*.

9. In an oath formula of a Nippur text from Cyrus 8.ii.1 (as *šar mātāti*), Cyrus is called *šar mātāti šar šarrāni* (BE 8/1 58:34).

10. Dubberstein was unaware of the reference in Camb. 426, presumably because he took his list of references from Dougherty (see nn. 11 and 12 below). Shea, *Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies* 20 (1982) 236 par. 3, also refers to only nine texts.

- Camb. 42:20-22 *sippar*^{ki} ITI *du²uzu* UD.7.KÁM MU.1.KÁM ^m*kam-bu-zi-ia šār bābili*(TIN.TIR)^{ki} / *mār*(A) ^m*ku-raš šār mātāti* (KUR.KUR)
- Camb. 46:16-19 *bābili*(TIN.TIR)^{ki} ITI *du²uzu* UD.25.KÁM / MU.1.KÁM ^m*ka-am-bu-zi-ia šār bābili*(TIN.TIR)^{ki} *i-nu-šu* / ^m*ku-ra-šú ab-šú šār mātāti*(KUR.KUR)
- VAS 6 108:13-16 *bābili*(TIN.TIR)^{ki} ITI *abu* UD.20 1.LAL.KÁM / MU.1.KÁM ^m*kám^{am}-bu-zi-ia* / *šār bābili*(TIN.TIR)^{ki} *i-nu-šú* / ^m*ku-ra-áš ab-šú šār mātāti*(KUR.KUR)
- Camb. 72:16-19 *bābili*(TIN.TIR)^{ki} ITI *araḥsamnu* UD.9.KÁM / MU.1.KÁM ^m*kám-bu-zi-ia* / *šār bābili*(TIN.TIR)^{ki} *mār*(A) ^m*ku*-[*raš*] / *šār mātāti*(KUR.KUR.MEŠ)
- VAS 6 328:10'-12' *bābili*(TIN.TIR)^{ki} ITI *ar*[*aḥsamnu*[?] UD.X.KÁM MU.1.KÁM] / ^m*kám-bu-zi-ia* [*šār bābili*^{ki}] / *mār*-^r*šú*¹ (eras?) ^m*ku-ra-áš š[ār mātāti]*
- Camb. 81:18-21 *bābili*(TIN.TIR)^{ki} ITI *kislimu* / UD.25.KÁM MU.1.KÁM ^m*kám-bu-zi-ia* / *šār bābili*(E)^{ki} *ina u₄-mu-šú-ma* ^m*ku-ra-áš* / *ab-šú šār mātāti*(KUR.KUR)
- Camb. 426:1-9 PN₁, PN₂, PN₃ etc., . . . (6) gardeners of Šamaš, *i*-x[. . .] / ^d*šamaš ù a-de-e^{meš} x[. . .]* / *šār mātāti*(KUR.KUR) *u* ^m*kam-bu-zi-ia*¹ / *šār bābili*(TIN.TIR)^{ki} *i*-^r*x-x*¹ [. . .]
- Camb. 426:21-22 ITI *kislimu* UD. 25.KÁM [. . .] / *šār mātāti*(KUR.KUR) *ù* ^m*kám-bu*-[*zi-ia* . . .]
- Camb. 98:7-9 [ITI X UD.]8.KÁM / ^m*kám-bu-zi-ia šār bābili*(E)^{ki} / *mār* ^m*ku-raš šār mātāti*(KUR.KUR)
- CT 56 142:8-10 regarding sesame; ITI *du²uzu* UD.2.KÁM MU.1.KÁM / ^m*kam-bu-zi-ia* / *šār mātāti*(KUR.KUR)¹ *mār*(A) ^m*ku*-^r*raš šār mātāti*(KUR.KUR)¹
- OECT 10 127 r. 5'-8' regarding dates, *imittu* of a storehouse, temple or palace. Reference to dates of the king (line 4). ^{ur}*bīt*(É)-^m*ku-na-nu* ITI *tašrītu* / 25 (or UD¹.5).KÁM MU.1.KÁM ^m*kám-bu-si-ia* / [*š*]*ār bābili*(E)^{ki} *mār*(A) ^m*kur-ra-áš* / *šār mātāti*(KUR.KUR)
- CT 55 731:8-11 payment(?) of silver; [. . .]x ITI *šabaṭu* / [. . .]

- MU.1.KĀM / [^m*kam-b*]u-zi-ia / [. . .] x
^m*ku-raš šār mātāti*(KUR.KUR.MEŠ)
- CT 57 56 r. 4-6 regarding *sattukku*, fragment only; [. . . X]+3.KĀM
 MU.1.KĀM
^mx[. . .] / [. . . *bā*]bīli(TIN.TIR)^{ki} *mār*(A) [. . .] / [. . .]x KUR[()]
- BM 63009:3-5 list relating to Ebabbara. See Cyr. 326 for similar
 topic; date at head of text; UD.9.KĀM MU.1.KĀM
^m*ku-ra*-[*aš*] / *šār mātāti*(KUR.KUR) ^m*ka-am-bu-zi-ia* /
šār bābīli(TIN.TIR)^{ki}
- BM 69005:4-5 content unclear; date at head of text; [. . .]8/9.KĀM
 MU.1.KĀM
^m*ku-ra-áš* / [. . .]x*bu-zi-ia šār bābīli*(E)^{ki}
- CT 57 369 r. 4-8 payment of something;
 [. . . (X+)]6.KĀM /
 [. . .]-*ra-áš-šú šarru* / [. . .]^rx*s¹i-ia* / [. . .]x
- BM 67848:3-5 a payment by one individual to another; ITI
nisannu / UD.27.KĀM / MU.1.KĀM ^m*ku-r*[*a-áš*] /
 [š]ār *mātāti*(KUR.KUR) [()] / ^m*kam-bu-zi-i*[*a*] / *šār*
bābīli(TIN.TIR)^{ki}
- CT 56 149:3-5 a payment; ITI *ajjāru* UD.7.^rKĀM¹ MU.1.KĀM /
^m*kām-bu-zi-ia* ^r*šār¹ bābīli*(E)^{ki} / *mār*(A) ^m*ku-ra-áš*
šār [. . .]
- CT 56 294:2'-4' lengthy list of items; date at head of text;
 [. . . IT]I *ajjāru* UD.10+X[. . .] / [. . .]x ^m*ku-raš šār*
mātāti(KUR.KUR) ^m*k*[*ám-bu-zi-*]*ia* / [šà]^r [*bāb*]*īli*
 (TIN.TIR)^{ki}
- CT 57 345:2-4 barley issued to make flour; date at head of text
 ITI *ajjāru* UD.18.KĀM MU.1.[KĀM] / <^m>*ku-ra-áš šār*
mātāti(KUR.KUR) ^m*kam-*^r*bu-zi¹-*[*ia*] / ^r*šār¹ bābīli*
 (TIN.TIR)^{ki}
- BM 63703:3-5 dates from Ebabbara; date at head of text;
 ITI *ajjāru* UD.20 LAL.1.KĀM MU.1.[KĀM] / ^m*ku-ra-*
áš šār mātā[*ti*](KUR.KUR) / ^m*ka-am-bu-zi-ia šār*
babi[*li*](TIN.TIR)^{ki}
- BM 68343:5-6 similar in appearance and script to BM 63703 above,

but too badly damaged to comment on content; date at head of text; [. . .].KĀM MU.1.KĀM ^mkām-bu⁷¹-[. . .] / [. . .]x mā^r(A) ^mku-ra-áš šār mātāti^{meš}

CT 55 175 r. 2'-4' [-b]^ru-zi-x¹[. . .] / [šār TIN.TI]R^{ki} DUMU ^mkur'-[ra-áš] / šār KUR.KUR; only signs legible now on reverse are ^mKUR of line 3', and KUR.KUR of line 4'. The comparison of these signs confirms our reading of line 3', as opposed to Pinches' copy which gives ^{md}EN-[].

It is clear from these dating formulae that, at a time called "Year 1 of Cambyses, King of Babylon," Cyrus his father was also ruling as "King of Lands." Assuming that Cyr. 16 and Camb. 426 do not contain an error in changing around the names of the kings, with their respective titles, there was also a period of co-regency during Cyrus' first full year in control of Babylonia. The question is whether these two periods were synonymous, or were in fact two separate ones, as suggested by Dandamayev. Oppenheim was in no doubt, and in the Cambridge History of Iran (2558) made the confident assertion, "Cambyses is mentioned as co-regent only for the first nine months of the first year of Cyrus."

Dougherty had reached the same conclusion in 1929.¹¹ He saw the co-regency as a possible extension of the situation which had prevailed under Nabû-na'id, when the crown prince Bêl-šarra-ušur assumed considerable authority in Babylon, allowing his father to turn his attentions elsewhere.¹² San Nicolò pointed to a similar situation under Assurbanipal, that king being called *šar mātāti*, whilst Šamaš-šum-ukīn and Kandalānu were to be known as *šar bābīli*.¹³

In addition to the texts listed above, Dubberstein noted that a further twenty from the first eleven months of Year 1 of Cambyses called him simply "King of Babylon." Taking note of the statement by Herodotus¹⁴

11. R. P. Dougherty, Nabonidus and Belshazzar: A Study of the Closing Events of the Neo-Babylonian Empire (1929).

12. Dougherty did not in fact suggest that the period of co-regency ever ended during Cyrus' lifetime. He drew attention to the importance of three texts in which Bêl-šarra-ušur's name appeared alongside his father's in oath formulae, and said that this confirmed the "exalted rank" of Bêl-šarra-ušur. Had he been aware of Camb. 426:10'-12', it would have greatly strengthened his Bêl-šarra-ušur/Cambyses analogy.

13. San Nicolò, Prosopographie p. 53 n. 3.

14. Herodotus i 208, "Then he gave Croesus to the care of his own son Cambyses, to whom he proposed to leave his kingship."

that Cambyses had been named as Cyrus' heir prior to the latter's final (and fatal) campaign, Dubberstein stated that these twenty tablets, and those of the co-regency, must have belonged to the period commencing with the New Year Festival of 530 B.C., and that when the news of Cyrus' death reached Babylon in the autumn of 530 B.C. scribes gave Cambyses the full title of "King of Babylon, King of Lands." TuM 2-3 92:11-14 were taken to illustrate the confusion that this supposedly caused:

nippur^{ki} / ITI *šabaṭu* UD 25.KĀM MU.1.KĀM / MU.NAM.SAG.
 NAM'.LUGAL / ^m*ganl-zil-zi-ia šar bābili*(E)^{ki} *u mātāti*(KUR.KUR)

Thus, in the eleventh month (i.e., February of 529 B.C.) one is apparently still in Cambyses' first year as "King of Babylon," but also in his accession year as "King of Babylon, King of Lands." Dubberstein summed up his article with this comment: "To postulate a dual reign at the beginning of Cyrus's reign instead of at the end has no support in the texts or in tradition, and is apparently opposed by the dual dating already quoted, *year one, accession year* of Cambyses, King of Babylon and Lands."¹⁵

The evidence from Cyr. 16 and Camb. 426 (which put Cambyses first in the dating formula) was thus ignored in this conclusion, and there was no attempt made to derive any information from the content of the texts themselves.

Meanwhile, San Nicolò's Prosopographie was to show that one Marduk-šum-iddina held office as *šangû* of Sippar from at least Nabû-na'id 15 to year 7 of Cyrus, and was succeeded by Bêl-uballiṭ from Cyrus 8 until the end of Cambyses' reign in 521 B.C.¹⁶ Since Marduk-šum-iddina appears as *šangû* in one of the texts dated by both kings, Camb. 42, it proves conclusively that this text at least belongs to the beginning, rather than to the end, of Cyrus' reign. San Nicolò was able to cite four more cases in which Marduk-šum-iddina appeared in texts dated to year 1 of Cambyses,¹⁷ and in the three texts in which the full date was preserved, Cambyses was called simply "King of Babylon." The evidence from TuM 2-3 92 was rejected as unsound, justifiably, in view of the large number of scribal errors to be found throughout the text.¹⁸

15. Parker-Dubberstein Chronology p. 419.

16. San Nicolò, Prosopographie p. 51.

17. San Nicolò, Prosopographie p. 35. The date in Camb 44 is damaged, but the text was clearly drawn up on the same day as BRM 1 64, to judge from the content (land sales) and the appearance of the same parties (including the witnesses and the scribe) in both texts. Collation confirms a dating of 17.vii.[] for the former and 17.vii.1 for the latter tablet.

18. San Nicolò, Prosopographie p. 52.

Having made this positive step towards showing that these texts dated by both kings come from the beginning of Cyrus' reign, San Nicolò made the same assumption as Dubberstein, namely that any text dated in Cambyses' first year which calls him only "King of Babylon" must belong to the period 530/29 B.C. His justification for this was as follows¹⁹:

Während seiner späteren Alleinherrschaft als Nachfolger des Kuraš (530-522 v. Chr.) lautet dagegen der Titel des Kambuzija in den Urkunden stets *šar bâbili^{ki} šar mâtâte*: die ganz seltenen Ausnahmen, in welchen einer der beiden Bestandteile fehlt, sind ebenso wie bei Darijamuš I. als Flüchtigkeiten des Schreibers zu erklären.

Thus, if a scribe omitted the title "King of Lands" from a text dated in years 2-8 of Cambyses, or in the reign of Darius, this was an error; if it was omitted in a text dated to year 1 of Cambyses, this was invariably deliberate and can be taken as evidence for the co-regency!

To consider the question of whether scribes could be expected to show absolute consistency in the matter of titles, Table 1 has been assembled, using the British Museum texts published by Strassmaier, and those published in CT 55, 56, and 57.

The figures from these two sources have been kept separate to show the dangers inherent in applying statistical analysis to such studies. Using the evidence from Cyrus' accession year from the CT volumes only, we find that Cyrus was, with one exception, called only "King of Lands." That one exception is CT 57 717, in which he was called "King of Babylon" (with the possibility of restoring "King of Lands" as well). This text is dated only three days after the entry of the conquering army into Babylon (19.7.acc), and it could be argued that since Cyrus himself had not yet arrived,²⁰ the scribe could not know of the new royal title; as soon as this became known, the scribes were instructed to adopt the new "King of Lands." In fact, the Strassmaier texts show that the explanation is not so clear cut. Before the end of month 7, a text is dated by both elements (Cyr. 1). A text of month 9 retains the title "King of Babylon," and six other texts from between months 8 and 12 use "King of Lands."

Moving on to consider Cyrus' first year, the CT evidence supports the idea that Cyrus should be called "King of Lands," i.e. whilst his son was king of Babylon. The Strassmaier texts show this to be an oversimplified interpretation.

19. San Nicolò, *Prosopographie* p. 51 n. 1.

20. See A. L. Oppenheim, *Cambridge History of Iran* 2 (1985) 542.

By Cyrus' second year we would expect him to be called "King of Babylon, King of Lands," and the large majority of the texts supports this.

Texts from Cambyses I might relate either to a period of co-regency, or to his sole reign. Whilst texts bearing both elements of the royal title must obviously come from the latter period, the *šar bābili* texts cannot be assigned with certainty to either one of these periods. The evidence for Cambyses' accession year, which logically can only fall after the death of Cyrus in 530 B.C., is exactly what one would expect; he is never called only "King of Babylon," but generally "King of Babylon, King of Lands."

Moving on from the date formulae, can any of the original texts used by Dubberstein be assigned definitely to the beginning of Cyrus' reign by their content? Five of the ten texts come from private archives, the remainder probably from that of Ebabbara. The latter group has already provided the name of Marduk-šum-iddina, thus establishing without doubt the precise date of Camb. 42. Other names in these remaining four texts can also be identified in other tablets, but the individuals concerned are attested from the reign of Nabû-na'id into the reign of Cambyses himself, so they cannot be used to pinpoint the date of these specific texts. The prosopographical information is still of interest however, and will therefore be considered as an appendix, along with similar information from the new texts.

Of the five private texts, VAS 6 108 and 328 appear to come from the archive of Iddin-nabû, son of Nabû-bān-zēri of the Nappāḫu family. The first text gives details of the *nudunnû* of his sister-in-law, Amti-Ninlil of the Nappāḫu family, and the second (badly damaged) probably records a loan of silver. The scribe of the former was Nabû-udammīq of the Egibi family, otherwise known in VAS 3 39:19 as a witness (Nbk 0, Bīt-Nabû-le'i), and in VAS 4 123:12 as scribe (Dar. 9, Babylon).

The texts Camb. 46, 72 and 81 all relate to Iddin-Marduk of the Nūr-Sîn family. The first of these records a loan to Šamaš-kāšir, son of Nabû-bēlšunu of the Lakuppuru family. The only other transactions Iddin-Marduk made with this family (of which records are available at present) were loans to brothers of Šamaš-kāšir in the first year of Cyrus, in Cyr. 12 (7.1.1), and Cyr. 27 (2.12.1). Camb. 46 thus appears to fall neatly between these two dates.

Camb. 72 is not entirely clear, and indeed the name of Iddin-Marduk's father or family is not given. The first two lines refer to work to be done in months 8 and 9 of Cambyses 1. The scribe is otherwise unknown to the writer, but the first witness, Šum-iddin of the Šalulu family (collated, not

Balātu as copied), appears in other Iddin-Marduk texts, including Camb. 81.

Camb. 81 was written by Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Marduk-bān-zēri of the Bēl-ētir family. He is well attested as a scribe for his father-in-law, Itti-Marduk-balātu of the Egibi family, but not in any other text from the first years of Cyrus or CambySES. Other evidence from this text is significant however. It records a fairly substantial loan of silver by Iddin-Marduk to two members of the Šangê-Gula family and, to appreciate its significance, it is necessary to give a brief review of the creditor's commercial activities, and a more detailed account of his connections with the Šangê-Gula family.

Iddin-Marduk is attested from the reign of Nabû-kudurri-ušur (Nbk. 67, 21.9.8) until at least the fifth year of CambySES (Camb. 72, 20.1.5).²¹ He specialized in making loans of silver, agricultural produce or sometimes raw materials, and during the earlier years in particular dealt with large quantities of garlic. His interests were so varied that the provision of loans, and the payment and receipt of silver or produce, were often handled by his *qallu*, by partners in his *harrānu* transactions,²² or by members of his family, notably his wife, daughter or son-in-law, Itti-Marduk-balātu of the Egibi family. His known connections with the Šangê-Gula family prior to the third year of Cyrus are detailed in Table 3. The texts are all from Babylon, and the members of the Šangê-Gula family who were involved are shown in Table 2. The significance of these texts to the question of the co-regency was already appreciated by Petschow.²³

Studying Table 3, one sees that contacts with Iddin-Marduk were of two types, as scribe (or witness) to his tablets, or as debtor. Kidin-Marduk (Kidinnu) started with a small loan of flour in Nabû-na'id's fourth year for which no guarantee or pledge was required, and in year 8 (Liv. 2) he joined with his brother Marduk-šum-iddina and a third party to borrow twelve minas of silver. In the seventh month of Nabû-na'id 14, Kidin-Marduk arranged a small loan of 25 shekels of silver (Nbn. 1079) against which all his property—*mimmāšu ša āli u šēri*—was pledged. This was a standard formula for the period, and guaranteed the creditor repayment of the debt through seizure of the debtor's property, if this should become necessary. Seven years earlier, in Nbn. 276, Marduk-šum-iddina had been able to

21. See K. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* (1905) p. 71, for this individual. It is not certain that Iddin-Marduk was still alive when mentioned in Dar. 56 and 187.

22. See H. Lanz, *Die neubabylonischen harrānu-Geschäftsunternehmen* (1976) pp. 166-78.

23. H. Petschow, *Neubabylonisches Pfandrecht* pp. 95-96 n. 281.

borrow 10 minas of silver without pledging anything against it repayment, which suggests that Kidin-Marduk's financial standing was not as good as his brother's in Iddin-Marduk's eyes. Nbn. 800 may refer to the same loan as Nbn. 1079, or to yet another one. In Nbn. 1032 Kidin-Marduk was still borrowing silver, but the details are unclear. In Cyrus' second year (Cyr. 51), he and his wife paid interest on a loan.

The only clues as to how this silver was being spent come from the few references made by members of the family. Marduk-šum-iddina paid 17 shekels of silver for a six-year-old *qallalū* in Nbn. 693 (21.1.13), and in Nbn. 964 (20.4.16) Bu'itu bought agricultural land from her brother Marduk-šum-ibni for 35 shekels. In Cyr. 3 Kidin-Marduk bought land in the town of Šuppatu, and Cyr. 161 mentions several purchases of land, although without specifying when they took place. With a standard rate of interest of 20% on loans of silver, it is certain that these loans must have been used to finance some sort of commercial activity. Since most of the evidence comes from the creditor's archive, rather than the debtors', the nature of their business is unclear.

Cyr. 161 (with its badly damaged duplicate Cyr. 160) is a key text in understanding the consequences of these loans. It gives details of how Kidin-Marduk's son, wife, grandmother and brother, Nabû-mušêtiq-urri, collected together at least seven pieces of land and three *amêluttu*, and sold them to Iddin-Marduk's son-in-law, Itti-Marduk-balâtu. Of the 24 minas 27 shekels of silver which the sale raised, 20 minas 17 shekels were paid directly to Iddin-Marduk and his wife, as they were creditors of Kidin-Marduk who held his land as a seized pledge (lines 48'-52').

It must be significant that Kidin-Marduk himself does not appear in this text, and that it is by reference to his son, Nādin-aḫi, that the position of the other family members is defined (lines 38'-41'): Nabû-mušêtiq-urri is the "brother of his father," Qudāšu is the "mother of his father," Bu'itu is "his mother, wife of Kidin-Marduk." Although land is still registered in his name (line 21'), the impression given is that he is dead or missing, and that the family has been left to face the financial consequences. Nādin-aḫi assumes responsibility for settling his father's financial affairs.

Having progressed this far, it is now time to examine the content of Camb. 81, to see how it affects (or is affected by) the question of the co-regency. The text records a loan on day 25, month 9 of the co-regency. It was to carry the standard rate of interest from day 1 of the following month, and was to be repaid by month 4 of the following year. Kidin-Marduk and Nabû-mušêtiq-urri were jointly responsible for repayment of

the loan, and pledged all they had "in city and countryside." It is clear that Cyr. 161 shows the virtual bankruptcy of Kidin-Marduk, and his possible death, by Cyrus' fourth year. Thus Camb. 81 must belong at the beginning of Cyrus' reign, rather than at the end. Even if Kidin-Marduk were still alive at the later date (530/29 B.C.), it does not seem likely that a financier as experienced as Iddin-Marduk would risk lending him silver again, particularly in this quantity. Significantly, none of these members of the Šangê-Gula family reappears in known sources after Cyr. 161.

Thus, although it has taken somewhat longer than San Nicolò to reach the same conclusion, it does seem possible to say from the previously available material that the co-regency texts come from 539/38 B.C. rather than 530/29 B.C.

An examination of the new material confirms this conclusion. Of the fourteen fresh texts, seven of them place Cyrus' name first, i.e. the co-regency is in Cyrus' first year. With one exception (CT 55 175), these fourteen are administrative tablets from a temple archive. Marduk-šum-iddina, the *šangû*, appears in CT 56 142, and other comments on the prosopography may be found in the appendix.

In addition to half these texts showing that the co-regency fell in Cyrus' first year as king, CT 55 731 shows that it lasted until at least month 11 of the year. If the co-regency were to be dated to 530/29, it would be difficult to explain why scribes were still using the names of both kings in the dating formulae, so long after the death of Cyrus. There is now a text published from month 12 of Cambyses Year 1 as "King of Babylon" (CT 57 165), and it can surely only be a matter of time before a co-regency text from month 12 also appears.

As well as this direct evidence for the co-regency in Cyrus' first year, there is also reference in CT 57 56 to "Year 17," clearly Year 17 of Nabû-naḫid's reign. This can be related and compared to CT 56 192, in which payments of dates were recorded for the years Nbn 15 (l.3) and then Camb 1, as *šar bābili* (lines 6-7). By contrast, CT 57 52:3 mentions "Year 17," and then the text itself is dated to Year 1 of Cyrus, *šar mātāti*. This is complemented by CT 57 52:3 which mentions "Year 17" and is dated to Cyrus I as *šar mātāti*, and CT 56 219 which covers the period (Nbn) 17 to Cyrus 26.12.acc, also as *šar mātāti*. Oberhuber Florenz 165 lists articles for the temples of Uruk for Year 17 to Year 1 of Cyrus, *šar bābili šar mātāti*. San Nicolò had noted the absence of co-regency texts outside the Babylon/Sippar area, and that texts from Nippur and Uruk at this period spoke of

Cyrus as simply “King of Lands.”²⁴ Oberhuber Florenz 165 appears to be the only published text which requires the latter observation to be modified.

In conclusion, two of the previously-known texts and seven of the new texts come from Cyrus’ first year as “King of Lands.” That this is indeed his first year of rule over Babylonia (rather than his ninth), is demonstrated by the presence of Marduk-šum-iddina’s name in Camb. 42 and CT 56 142, which are dated to “Year 1 of Cambyses King of Babylon, son of Cyrus King of Lands.”²⁵

Camb. 81 may also be dated to the earlier period, on the grounds that one of the parties involved in the text was probably dead by Cyrus’ fourth year. Camb. 46 is one of three loans made by an individual to three separate brothers; since the other two loans date to Cyrus Year 1, and since neither these brothers nor their family are otherwise mentioned in the creditor’s archive, it is not unreasonable to date that text to Cyrus’ first year as well.

CT 57 56 belongs to a group of texts which deal with a period from the end of Nabû-naʿid’s reign to the beginning of that of Cyrus.

Thus, of the twenty-four texts dated by both kings, fourteen may be assigned with more or less certainty to 539/38 B.C. It therefore appears that all these texts may be assigned to the first full regnal year of Cyrus, and that suggestions as to an alternative, or even a second period of co-regency in 530/29 B.C. are without any support from the cuneiform sources.

There is still the problem of a possible overlap in the reigns of the two kings in 530/29 B.C. however, as two published texts refer to Cyrus as “King of Lands” at a time when Cambyses had already succeeded to the throne. Camb. 1 confirms that Cambyses was “King of Babylon and the Lands” by day 12 of month 6 at the latest. However, VAS 5 42, the date of which was read by Parker and Dubberstein as Cyrus 23.5.9, is more likely, from the traces, to come from month 6. OECT 10 123 is dated to Cyrus 19.8.9, and collation by Dr. Dalley has confirmed that the extant signs are “very clear,” and that the copy in OECT 10 is accurate. In addition to these two texts, BM 74669, a receipt for barley for Bêltu of Sippar, is dated to Cyrus 20.8.9 as “King of Babylon, King of Lands.”²⁶ It seems unlikely that both kings held the full title of “King of Babylon, King of Lands” at the

24. San Nicolò, *Prosopographie* p. 53 n. 3.

25. Allowing for the fact that the scribe of CT 56 142 called both kings “King of Lands”!

26. BM 66492, read by Leichty as Cyrus 25.viii.9, belongs in fact to 25.viii.8.

same time, but on the evidence of these three texts the possibility cannot be ruled out completely. This however is a completely separate problem to that of the co-regency texts.

As for the Ancient Greek sources, nothing has been said here which might diminish their possible veracity, as no one has thought it necessary to explain why the naming of Cambyses as successor to the throne of the entire empire, might have involved making him king of Babylon prior to his father's death.

APPENDIX

The prosopography of the co-regency texts

The presence of a *šangû* of Sippar in two of these texts has already been noted. Of the other individuals who appear, quite a few may be identified with minor officials of the temple (and possibly crown) administration. Where it has been possible to identify these people, usually through Tallqvist's Neubabylonisches Namenbuch, this is noted. Such references are given by the page number in the Namenbuch, followed by the specific number given to that individual by Tallqvist. If no patronymic or family name was given for a person, Tallqvist listed him under the main heading of the personal name in question.

Camb. 36: a supply of raw materials to workmen of Ebabbara; no names mentioned.

Cyr. 16: deals with barley, *irbu*. The names Iqīšâ and Nūr-Šamaš are mentioned; they do not appear together in any other texts listed in Tallqvist Namenbuch.

Camb. 42: Marduk-šum-iddina, *šangû* of Sippar, leases out a field of Šamaš to Šāpik-zēri son of Šamaš-aḫa-iddina; Tallqvist Namenbuch p. 200:28, various references between Nbn. 174 and Cyr. 349.

Camb. 72: Šākin-šumi son of Nabû-udammiq, of the *rab banê* family is otherwise unknown. His brother, Ša-Marduk-ul-inu, appears as a witness in Camb. 16 and as scribe in Dar. 176, both Egibi texts.

Camb. 98: Rēmut, the ironsmith; Tallqvist Namenbuch p. 175 gives various references. He receives or pays out quantities of iron, and has access to the royal treasury (Cyr. 276). Attested from Nbn. 745 until Camb. 256 (year 4).

BM 63703: Two names are extant: Bunene-ibni, for whom see the daunting list of references in Tallqvist Namenbuch pp. 50-51; he may also appear in BM 67848. For Šillâ, see Tallqvist Namenbuch pp. 184-85. He is connected with Bunene-ibni in Nbn. 656, has access to the royal treasury (Nbn. 868, 942), may be connected with Kî-Nabû (see under CT 57 56, below) in Nbn. 911, is mentioned in relation to cooks (Cyr. 40, Camb. 60) and *epišānu*, Nabû-ušuršu (Camb. 178) and Bēl-ēṭir (Nbn. 1094); for these, see under CT 56 142, below. Šillâ has clear connections with the cults: Cyr. 40, *bīt Gula*; Camb. 365, *bīt Gula*, *bīt Addu*, *Bēlet Sippar*.

CT 56 142: Bēl-iqīšâ, the *epišānu*, is well attested in the Strassmaier texts, almost invariably connected with sesame oil (Tallqvist Namenbuch p. 36). In Nbn. 859 he is called *epišānu* of Mušêzib-Marduk, the date being Nbn. 29.iii.15. An examination of the texts relating to another *epišānu*,

Bēl-ētir (Tallqvist Namenbuch p. 29; see also under BM 63703, above), shows this to have been Mušēzib-Marduk son of Šamaš-zēr-ibni (Nbn. 628:3-5), the *šangû* of Sippar. We can therefore extend the career of this official from Nbn. 13 (see San Nicolò, Prosopographie p. 34) almost up to the time of the earliest reference to his successor Marduk-šum-iddina, who appears in this text. See CAD E 240 sub *epišānu*, "confectioner," for the careers of the individuals Bēl-iqīšâ and Bēl-ētir; however, no mention is made there of their direct connections with the *šangû* of Sippar.

OECT 10 127: The personal names, including the one incorporated into the place name, are unknown to us: []-Nabû-abluṭ and Nabû-i-di (line 5). There is no reason to believe that these persons are father and son, as McEwan suggests in the Name List of OECT 10.

CT 57 56: Line 4 is quoted in CAD N/2 319 sub *nuḥsu*, "(a reed basket)." Of the three individuals named, Bēl-rimanni, Balātu, and Kî-Nabû, the last is the best known. He was called a scribe in Camb. 131:6, and often authorizes payments from the (temple) stores (Tallqvist Namenbuch p. 89). If the sender of the letters Cyr. 369 and 373 was the *šangû* Marduk-šum-iddina, then Kî-Nabû ranked as his "brother" in the address formulae of the letters.

BM 63009: Of the various references to Šamaš-rē'û(a) in Tallqvist Namenbuch p. 193, Cyr. 109 and 326 certainly refer to this man.

BM 69005: Rev. 3 possibly refers to Bunene-ibni; see BM 63703, above.

CT 57 369: For Apla son of Kîn-apli (r. 1-2), see Tallqvist Namenbuch p. 8:29.

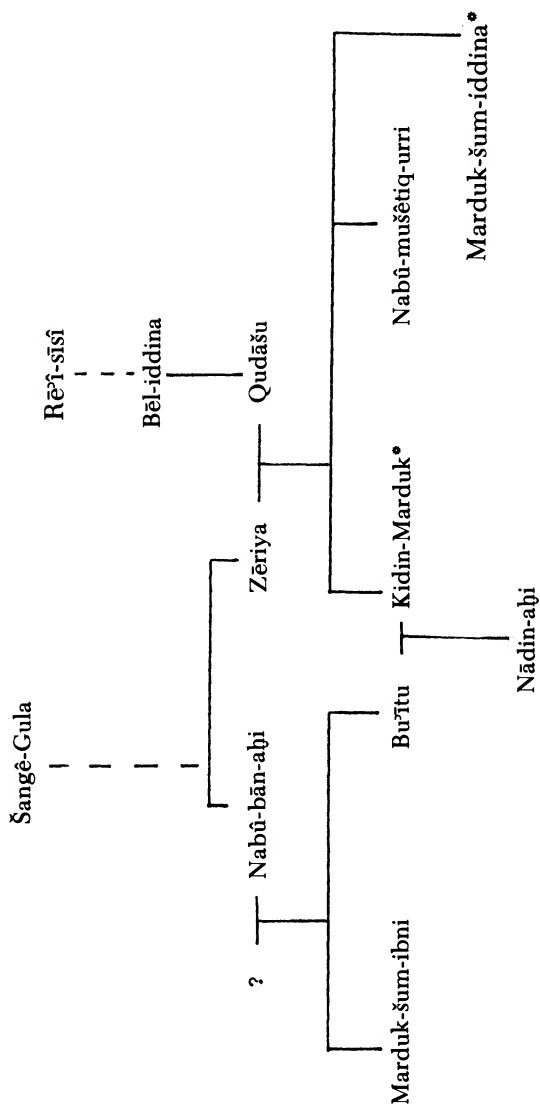
CT 55 175: Šāpik-zēri, son of Ebabbara-šadūnu of the *šange* Sippar family assigns land to his daughter Kašša, and a slave to his wife. In CT 55 128 (Nbn. 22.0.4) he bought land in Sippar. Tallqvist Namenbuch p. 200:70 lists him in Nbn. 373:13, where he is the first witness to a loan by the *makkūr* of Šamaš.

TABLE 1

Year	Cyrus acc.		Cyrus 1		Cyrus 2		Camb. 1		Camb. acc.	Title assigned to king
Sources	Str.	CT	Str.	CT	Str.	CT	Str.	CT	Str.+CT	
<i>numbers</i>	1	1(1)	2(1)	0	0	4	19(2)	16(2)	0	šar bābili
<i>of texts</i>	6	9	4(1)	8(2)*	1	9	1	0	3	šar mātāti
	2	0	8	0	16	45	43	3	27	šar bābili šar mātāti
	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	none

*Of these eight texts, two might possibly be restored to read *šar bābili šar mātāti*, and so for all the other figures in brackets. The CT texts have been identified through Leichty's Catalogue, rather than a systematic search through the copies themselves. The Strassmaier texts do not include those where the name of the king is not preserved.

TABLE 2



*Kidin-Marduk's name may be shortened to Kidinnu, Marduk-šum-iddina's to Šum-iddin.

TABLE 3

<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Debtors</i>	<i>Loan</i>	<i>Other details</i>
Nbn. 153	27.3.4	Kidinnu	4½ shekels <i>qēmu</i>	repay end of month 4
Nbn. 158	20.5.4	Šum-iddin* is witness for Iddin-Marduk text		
Nbn. 276	26.10.7	Šum-iddin and Nabû-balašus-iqbi, son of Tabnēya**	10 minas silver	4 minas were responsibility of Šum-iddin and Marduk-sum-ibni, son of Tabnē-ya**
Nbn. 392	15.10.9	Nabu-Kin-apli, son of Nā'id-Marduk of the Sangē-Gula family as scribe for Iddin-Marduk text		
Strassmaier Liverpool 2	11.6.8	Šum-iddin and Kidinnu and Nergal-uballiṭ, son of Tabnēya**	12 minas silver	interest at 20%, with joint responsibility
Nbn. 611	22.4.12	Marduk-šum-iddina is witness for Iddin-Marduk text		
Nbn. 613	24.4.12	Marduk-šum-iddina	95 shekels silver	Kidin-Marduk was witness
Nbn. 800	0.7.(14)*	Kidinnu	details lost	
Nbn. 1079	20.7.[14]*	Kidin-Marduk	25 shekels silver	interest at 20%, everything pledged
Nbn. 1032	6.2.17	Kidin-Marduk	unclear; payment of silver(?) to Kidin-Marduk by Iddin-Marduk	
Cyr. 51	21.5.2	Kidinnu and wife, Bu'itu, pay silver, interest on a loan	amount lost	

*Collated; copy of Nbn. 158 reads Zēr-iddin. Dates of Nbn. 800 and 1079 were collated.

**Of these three, only Nabû-balašus-iqbi is otherwise known, as witness of Iddin-Marduk in Evetts Ev.-M 20.